2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

It is clear that there has been a marked change in the herding economy in general during the last few centuries, which has of course been much accelerated during recent generations. Asfendiarov[28] remarks on the increasing restriction of the Kazak nomads during the eighteenth century by the expansion of Russia on the north, China in the east and the sedentary influence of the khanates of Bokhara and Kokand in the south. Because of the growth of settled areas it became no longer possible for the nomads to find new pastures during periodic crises due to drought. A struggle therefore developed among the various Kazak groups for the possession of the available lands, with a consequent elimination of the weaker groups. Those who succumbed in this process became hired herdsmen, caravan drivers, turned to agriculture, or went to the cities. Simultaneously the increasing restriction of pasture lands produced a decline of horse culture and an increase of sheep and goat herding. The herding of horses on a large scale was restricted to the rich and powerful, while small horned cattle became the basis of the economy of the poor and semi-settled people. This tendency was further stimulated by the increased demand for wool from the Central Asian markets which made sheep raising profitable. These historical observations receive confirmation from Levshin who observed[29] that at the time of his visit (about 1825) the Kazak in general possessed few horned cattle. He was told that a hundred years previously they had had none at all.

This increase of sheep raising made the autumn, when the shearing was done, a busy time. During this period the social groupings of the summer period of migration remained substantially the same. Although shearing usually took place not far from the site of the winter quarters, it was carried on by groups of a few families as in the case of the summer herding. The poor relatives and hired workers who served the large herd owners in the summer were engaged in clipping the sheep and in making general preparation for winter. This period lasted from August or the first part of September through October, when most groups moved into their winter quarters.

The dwellings for the winter were permanent structures of wattle, adobe, sod, or, more rarely, of wood or stone. They were usually called qɒstav but by some groups of the Great Orda, tam. Generally they consisted of one room but those of the rich might contain several. Adjoining the qɒstav were a number of fenced-in sarai, or corrals, surrounded with mud or wattle walls where the animals were kept. There were separate corrals for each kind of animal and sometimes a stable as well, built like the qɒstav and frequently connected with it. There were also storage places for the winter's supply of hay. Thus around each qɒstav were numerous outbuildings.

In winter the entire uru group and other people associated with it, who during the summer season had been broken up into units of a few families, lived together. Each family as a general rule had its own qɒstav so that the winter quarters of a moderate sized group formed a village of several hundred houses as well as outbuildings and corrals.

During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the

[28] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 86-95.

[29] *Description des hordes*, 409.

[239 cont.]
x 648 [661] died, he was obliged to send another at once to take his place, but he delayed and thought of weak excuses, and finally the local [343] authority received an order not to force him. It was also ordered that sheds and enclosures be built near the Ural River for him and his brothers, at the expense of the crown, for the wintering of their animals. Finally the Khan and the most distinguished sultans received many gifts at this time.

[728] In order to calm all the Kazaks in the north and to protect them from attacks which could have stopped them even during their preparations to march against the Chinese, the strictest prohibitions were repeated to prevent the Bashkirs from crossing the Ural River.

[343] Certain difficulties which arose in building the livestock enclosures for the Khan and the sultans, their constant requests that they be allowed to spend the winter in the steppes of Astrakhan, and the fear that this concession might bring about the destruction of the Volga Kalmuks, led the government to return, in 1759, to the idea of building a city at the mouth of the Emba. It was thought that even if the Khan and the Kazaks could not be persuaded to live there permanently, at least they would not refuse to spend the winter there in order to care for their studs and livestock. However this plan has remained [240] unrealized to this day, like the one of which we spoke above.

After Amursan's death and the cessation of the unpleasant relations which had taken place concerning him between the Russian and Chinese governments, Russia's preparations to repel an attack by the latter, as well as the aid promised by Khan Nurali and Sultan Ablai, became unnecessary. Nevertheless the Russian court continued to fear for a long time that the Kazaks might [167] withdraw across the borders into the ravaged lands of Dzungaria. Because of Ablai's ties with China and the efforts of the Chinese to draw him into their vicinity, the Middle Horde even seemed disposed to change its place of habitation. It was supposed that if it withdrew eastward, the Little Horde would also follow its example.

[577] Such an emigration could not harm Russia with regard to her security, for the Kazaks, after becoming her subjects, had

[243 cont.]
x 648 subordinacy and keep them from maintaining friendly relations
662 with China, the government continued to spare neither expense
nor effort. In the instructions presented to the border authorities
of Orenburg and Siberia at the beginning of 1762, it was ordered
that the most distinguished of the Kazaks should be flattered in
[431] every possible way, that presents and rewards should be distributed
to them generously, and that those who wished it should have
sheds and stables built for them near the border.

[342 343] It was ordered that engineers should be sent to Sultan Ablai
without delay to build him a house with outbuildings and the
necessary storehouses, surrounding it all with a rampart to give it
the appearance of a small fort (1). Such a mark of distinction was

1. A house really was built for Khan Ablai opposite the fort of Petropavlovsk, but only several years later.

very flattering to the vanity of a Kazak.

By these and other similar means, the Khan and the Kazak sultans were kept faithful to Russia, at least in [244] appearance. When Nurali, Ablai, and Aichuvak received the letters of information concerning the elevation of Empress Catherine II to the throne, they swore an oath of fealty to her immediately.

x 648 It is worthy of remark that Ablai was not the only one who, having long been a vassal to two empires, swore an oath to the Empress of Russia, without intending because of this to give up his ties with China. Khan Nurali, following his example, decided about this time to enter into relations with the court of Peking. During this same year, 1762, he sent an embassy to Peking which left for that capital with the deputies of Sultan Batyr of the Middle Horde and Sultan Abulfenz, son of Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde. They were all loaded with presents by the Emperor, especially the deputies of Khan Nurali (1), who was puffed up by

1. See the reports of the interpreter Gordeev on his return from the Middle Horde in 1763.

/208 cont./

342 arshin and more in thickness. Above these walls there is a row of wooden beams, on which several crossbeams are fastened to support the ceiling. The latter is made of /209/ brushwood, reeds, and grass, and layers of sod are put on it. The kstau have no roofs. A small door is made in the wall facing the yard. On the opposite side one or two insignificant windows are fashioned -- or more precisely holes with only glass or a bladder stretched [354] over them (1). The building is divided into two halves; the

1. In summer the window frames with the glass or the bladders are usually taken out and stored somewhere to avoid loss or breakage.

front one is the dirtier one in which the stove is placed (usually an unbaked brick one, consisting of two enclosures, in one of which the kettle /kazan/ is set, while the other is used for baking baursaki, melting tallow, etc.). The young rams and calves, 342 the harness of the horses, and piles of other farm equipment are 353 also kept in this half. The back half (two to three sagenes long), 352 two sagenes wide, and 1 sagene high) is almost filled with bunks [231] on which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ eat and sleep. Stakes are driven into the walls, and clothing, the best harness, felt, etc. are 342 hung on them. At night the mud hut is lighted by a tallow candle [354] /sal'nik/ (a wick with sheep tallow in a cup). From all that has been said of the winter quarters, /illustration appears here/ one can imagine the kind of crowdedness, dirt, and suffocating heat [184] the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to endure in winter. In general the [556] winter quarters of the richer Kirghiz /Kazak/ in localities without forests differ little from the one described, except that they are cleaner.

• 343 Close to his own quarters the Kirghiz /Kazak/ builds stalls for the sheep, which have the same structure as the dwelling, except that they lack windows and an oven. In addition two other sod structures are built, one on the order of a storehouse, 000 and the other for the dzhetak laborers. Then there are lighter

351 /209 cont./ Then There are lighter structures, which constitute the actual yard of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ house. The yard is enclosed by a bulwark of earth, dung, reeds, etc. Poles, whose one end is propped against it, are fastened at the other end either to special supports or also to the bulwark. On top of these poles a reed roof is arranged over the entire yard. A roof is necessary in the winter quarters on the steppe because of the frequent winds and snowstorms. Inside, the yard is broken up into sev-
[231] eral parts, of which /210/ the warmest are given to the small animals and cattle and those less warm to the horses.

361 The general impression made by the steppe winter-quarters is

[342] [346]

Steppe winter-quarters and mosque of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clan of the Tuz on the Emba River.

negative. In appearance it is a cluster of closely joined mud huts
[32] surrounded by dung. In view of the frequent snowstorms, however, the proximity of the buildings is very convenient for the steppe population.

184 342 35 The winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in forested localities have more comforts. The living quarters consist of a small hut with a small window and door, a floor, and a ceiling, although it, too, often lacks a roof. Most of the living space is taken up with bunks, covered with felt, mats, rugs, and cushions. Under the bunks, chests and other practical articles are placed. The oven, too, is of a more
184 modern type, more beautiful than convenient. The average middle-
●343 class Kirghiz /Kazak/ has separate quarters in the courtyard, called

184 /210 cont./
"chuchela," for the cooking of meat and for the laborers. This is a
343 cupola-shaped, half-sod and half-felt structure, dirty and cold.
184 The yard of the forest winter-quarters is not as cramped as on the
251 steppe. Here only a shelter of sod for the sheep is made beside
231 the house, while the other animals are wintered in reed or wattled
361 shelters /prigon/ built somewhere deep in the woods. Thus the appearance of the forest kstau reminds one somewhat of a Russian village.

184 Among the southern (Chu and other) Kirghiz /Kazak/, along
342 with the mud-hut winter quarters, yurts are put up in the midst
231 of reeds, with sod and snow laid around them. Simple fences of reeds and saxaul /saksaul/ are made for the livestock. Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Tarbagatai mountains, the winter quarters are built of stone and wood. Sod buildings are rarer. No buildings are made for the livestock at all, and they are kept in valleys and hollows sheltered from the wind.

291 The clothing of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is quite varied. Among the men the underclothing consists of one long wide shirt ("kuylyuk") of calico or, more rarely, of linen, and short wide trousers ("dambaly") of grey or colored material. Over this they wear a long wool coat, or among the rich a silk one, always with designs or embroidery, and wide trousers or "shelbary" of cotton material, sometimes of tanned leather. Above this they wear a beshmet -- a broad coat of colored material or embroidered, sometimes of camel's hair, made at home. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ wears an "arakchin" on his head, and above this a round cap called "bork." He wears wide leather boots with high wooden heels, called "santama," on his feet. His light footgear, called "ichigi" (boots of soft leather, without heels), is always worn with overshoes. He uses a wide calico band as a belt or else a leather "kse." The latter consists of a narrow strap, ornamented on the outside with metal plates, or with silver plates among the rich. From this strap there usually hangs a small bag, in which they used to keep tinder and flint and now put cheese, "kurt," for the road, also a sheath for a knife (which is now used in eating meat) and a powder horn (empty). These supplementary pieces are also adorned with metal plates on the outside. In the winter the

/211 cont./

262 272 [252] [415] Kumiss -- mare's milk fermented with spirits -- should be acknowledged as the chief food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. A special bag of smoked leather, called "tursuk," is used for the preparation and storing of kumiss. A wooden /212/ /illustration appears here/ stirrer is used to stir the kumiss while it is being prepared, and each time before it is used. The best kumiss is found among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Kokchetav uyezd, as they

342 343 493 556 351

Winter quarters (kstau) of a well-to-do Kirghiz /Kazak/ in a wooded locality (yard, the buildings around it, and the house).

262 [272] have the best pasture facilities for their livestock. In summer most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ live primarily on kumiss, drinking great quantities of it. Other milk products consumed include "airan" -- sour cow's milk -- and various kinds of cheese, including "kurt," a roasted sheep's-milk cheese with small curds, "yeremchik," a sour cow's-milk cheese, and others. Meat is eaten primarily in winter, and most often mutton and lamb, because it is cheaper. Horsemeat appears only in [252] exceptional cases, as a delicacy. Meat is almost always boiled (in the kazan) and only rarely roasted. First the meat is eaten (with the [264] hands) and then the fat, "surpa," is drunk from large wooden cups. Smoked meat is also eaten. Wild game and fish are rarely eaten, and vegetables are likewise uncommon.